

A brief Statement -----

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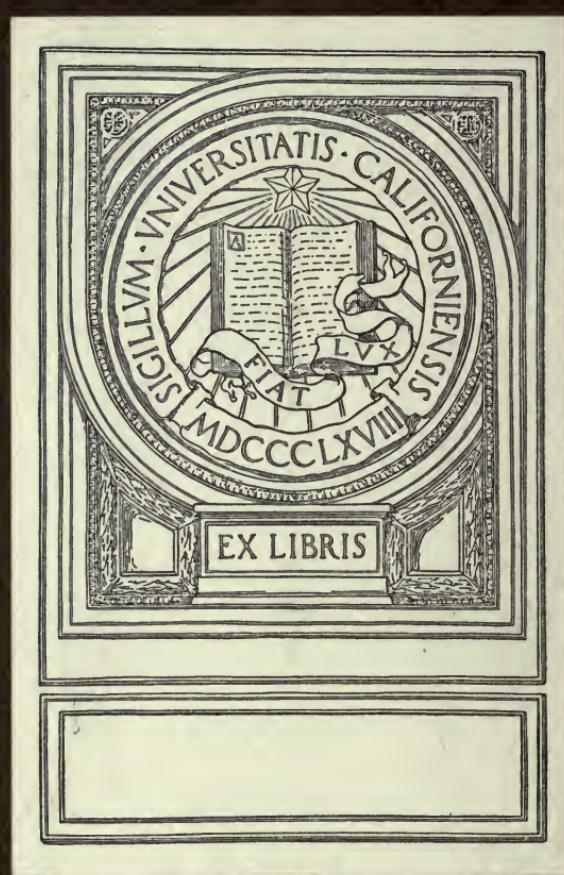
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A BRIEF STATEMENT
of the
POLITICAL VALUE
OF THE

HAWAIIAN TREATY

TO THE
UNITED STATES.

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THE
POLITICAL VALUE
OF THE
HAWAIIAN RECIPROCITY TREATY
TO THE UNITED STATES.

At this late stage of the debate on the Hawaiian Reciprocity Treaty of 1875, it is unnecessary to enter into any statistical details respecting its operation as a commercial convention. The subject has been fully discussed, and it is conceded by its advocates that the advantages, in a financial point of view, have been and still are with the Hawaiian Kingdom, even after the most liberal concessions have been granted by its opponents. It is therefore necessary to refer now to its political value to the United States, and ask the question "IS IT WISE POLICY FOR THE AMERICAN GOVERNMENT TO TERMINATE IT AT THE PRESENT TIME?"

During the past few years there has been an extraordinary and growing desire on the part of European Powers to acquire territorial possessions in the Pacific Ocean, which may be plainly termed an "annexation fever," and this desire appears to be increasing rather than subsiding. The recent contention for the possession of the Island of New Guinea, lying near Australia, raised by the Australian Colonies and England with Germany will not be forgotten. Though the question is not yet definitely settled, it will probably be done amicably by a partition of the Island among the claimants. France, already possessed of the Society Islands and New Caledonia, now lays claim to one or two of the Hebrides Islands, and some of the still more important islands of the

group west of Tahiti, known as the Leeward Isles, to say nothing of the large island of Madagascar in the Indian Ocean, peopled with four millions of natives.

The recent half-suppressed emeute between Spain and Germany, relative to the ownership of the Caroline Islands in the Central Pacific, which excited an angry war-like spirit on the part of the Spanish people, and was settled by the arbitration of the Pope, will be remembered by all. The Carolines were awarded to Spain, while the German flag will protect the Marshall Islands. Both these groups lie about 2000 miles west of Hawaii, in the North Pacific. Germany is also understood to have taken the initial steps, which will result in a "protectorate" of Samoa.

The outline map of the Pacific Ocean which accompanies this pamphlet will illustrate better than anything else the relative position of the various harbors and islands now in the possession of European Naval Powers, and also show the central and wonderfully strategic position occupied by Hawaii, which is the nearest land to the American coast.

The possessions of Great Britain are the following: the continent of Australia, including the magnificent harbors of Sydney and Melbourne; New Zealand, with its fine harbor of Auckland, part of New Guinea, and the Fiji Group, with its cluster of 200 islands,—all the foregoing being in the South Pacific. She also holds Hongkong and Singapore on the Asiatic coast, and Victoria on the American coast—in all at least eight or ten naval stations of great natural strength and importance. The acquisition by her of Hawaii would render almost impregnable her cordon of naval stations stretching in a straight line from Melbourne on the South to Vancouver's Island on the North.

France holds the Society Islands, with their fine harbor of Tahiti, the Marquesas Group lying North of Tahiti, some of the Leeward Islands, New Caledonia near Australia, one or two of the New Hebrides Islands, and Hue on the Cochin-China Coast.

Germany lays protectoral claim to the Marshall Islands, Samoa, part of New Guinea, and one or two islands near the Equator.

Russia holds undisputed possession of the Asiatic coast, from Bhering's Straits and Kamschatka to Corra and China.

Spain owns the Phillipine Islands with the spacious harbor of Manilla, and about one hundred islands of the Caroline Group.

The Dutch Netherlands have long held naval or trading stations in Java, Sumatra, Borneo and New Guinea.

Portugal owns the Ladrone Islands with the commodious harbor of Guam, a well known resort for American whale-ships.

Thus it will be seen that the principal European nations have already secured the strongest strategic points in the Pacific Ocean, where trading, coaling and naval stations have been or can be located; while the United States does not possess a solitary coaling station beyond her coast line, and is already flanked by strong French, German and English stations, where in case of war SHE WOULD BE COMPELLED TO SEEK THE PRIVILEGE OF COALING HER SHIPS.

The termination of the existing treaty may have a more important bearing on the future status of Hawaii than any one can now anticipate. Who can predict what secret rivalry for territorial acquisition in the Pacific may accomplish during the next twenty years? It is more than a mere probability that the relation now sustained by the United States to Hawaii may very soon be filled by the progressive Dominion of Canada, which may be said to be only waiting her opportunity. Or if we turn to the westward, it should not be overlooked that both China and Japan are becoming largely interested in the domestic policy of Hawaii, by reason of the rapid migration of their people thither. It may not be an idle conjecture that the time will soon come when either of these powers, which posses navies of thirty to forty vessels each, some of them ironclads, will make demands on Hawaii which cannot be refused by her except at the peril of losing her independence, backed as these demands can be by a naval force more powerful than that maintained by any other nation in the Pacific. Japan or China will soon be able to plant

colonial outposts in the Central Pacific, as readily as England, France or Germany, and people them far more readily.

Whatever may be said to the contrary, the influence of the treaty has been to steadily encourage the growth of American commerce in the Pacific Ocean, and with it to strengthen American prestige and influence. The recently published statistics of the Hawaiian Custom-house show most conclusively that of the foreign commerce of Hawaii, over 92 per cent. has been with the United States; while of its carrying trade about the same percentage was done by American vessels. This is not a mere accident attending the Reciprocity Treaty, but the legitimate result of a well-matured measure, designed to foster American commerce, and which is accomplishing the design to a greater extent than is generally known.

From a paper prepared by the writer, and published in 1882, having a direct bearing on the treaty, the following extracts are inserted, as equally appropriate now :

“Having referred to the treaty in its commercial aspects, it must not be forgotten that it possesses a political feature as important as its commercial. When it was under discussion in Congress in 1875, its supporters made no claim that the pecuniary advantages would be equally shared by both nations, but frankly conceded that they would preponderate in favor of Hawaii. Nor was the treaty granted by the United States so much for any supposed commercial advantages to her as for national purposes. Her chief design and purpose were to encourage a nation in the Central Pacific that might become a sugar-growing field for her Pacific States and Territories—a nation regarded as almost a kin to her—that it might become an independent people, free from foreign complications or control, and still attracted to her by the natural ties of kinship and protector. Secretary Blaine, in his letter to Gen. Comly, late American Minister, Resident at Honolulu, briefly and clearly states the whole case in the following extracts :

“The situation of the Hawaiian Islands, giving them strategic control of the North Pacific, brings their possession within the range of questions of purely American policy, as

much so as that of the Isthmus of Panama. Hence the necessity, as recognized in our existing relations, of drawing ties of intimate relationship between the United States and the Hawaiian Islands, so as to make them practically part of the American system, without derogation of the absolute independence" * * * "In a word, Hawaii is, by the wise and beneficent provisions of the treaty, brought within the circle of the domestic trade of the United States, and our interest in its friendly neutrality is the same that we feel in the guaranteed independence of the Isthmus of Panama. On the other hand, Hawaiian interests must inevitably turn towards the United States in the future as the present, as their natural and sole ally in conserving the dominion of both in the Pacific trade. This government has on previous occasions been brought face to face with the question of a protectorate over the Hawaiian groups. It has, as often as it arose, been set aside in the interest of such commercial union and such reciprocity benefits as would give Hawaii the highest advantages, and at the same time strengthen its independent existence as a sovereign State. In this I have summed up the whole disposition of the United States toward Hawaii in its proper condition."

When the discussion of the treaty in the Senate turned on the pecuniary advantages that would be derived from it by the Hawaiian Islands, that body sought and obtained a political concession, in the shape of a pledge, as an offset to any pecuniary loss, and the following stipulation was inserted in Article IV :

— "that so long as this treaty shall remain in force, he (His Majesty the king) will not lease or otherwise dispose of, or create any lien in any port, harbor or other territory in his dominions, or grant any special privileges or rights of use therein to any other power, state or government, nor make any other treaty, by which any other nation shall obtain the same privileges relative to the admission of any articles free of duty hereby secured to the United States."

The astute and far-sighted statesmanship which secured such extraordinary political advantages as these, amounting almost to a pre-emption right in Hawaii—which some Hawaiians have thought should never have been asked or granted—cannot reasonably consent to the abrogation of the treaty on account of a pecuniary advantage gained in the bargain, by her insular neighbor. The higher aims of national policy and not any claims of sectional interest were consulted in granting it; and the clamor of sectional or private interests will not set it aside. Little Hawaii has kept

faith with her great benefactor, even enacting laws to protect the interests of the Treaty and preserve its faith, and it stands before the world for honorable treatment and the maintenance of a carefully-considered Treaty. Can a few partisans, spurred on by an interested hostile discussion, or yielding to other influences, compromise the interests of the great Republic towards this little State? We will not believe it!

ABROGATE THE TREATY — and some other nation may hasten to secure the extraordinary concessions made by it, and thus acquire a claim in, and power over our archipelago, which from its position is the key to the future commerce of the Pacific, which may steam from the Atlantic via the Panama Isthmus, to oriental ports, and to the numberless groups scattered over this ocean. PRESERVE THE TREATY—and so long as it lasts no nation will violate its provisions, or meddle with Hawaii's independence. While it remains in force, it is a standing notice to all that Hawaii shall be independent and free from foreign control. Where is the American, who, when he considers the vast wealth of his country, with her treasury overflowing with an annual surplus of one hundred millions--can begrudge the comparatively small loss under the treaty, or who can show a better way to maintain her supremacy in this ocean, or, perhaps more strictly speaking, to prevent the supremacy of every other power?

American ideas and the spirit of American institutions are spreading over the world, silently but powerfully influencing every European and Asiatic government and people. They have taken root in Hawaii and raised her to her present condition of unexampled prosperity. And from this central group of the Pacific, which under the Treaty is practically an American Colony, the seeds of American enterprise, American industry, American civilization, with all the ennobling influence of her political and religious institutions, are being scattered over this ocean, permeating the masses that people its continents and islands. With such a record of the past, and a grander future before her, American statesmen should hesitate before surrendering the precedence which this Treaty secured to her in this group and

throughout this ocean; especially at a time when her industries are calling so loudly for the opening of new avenues for the disbursement of the surplus products and manufactures from her Western prairies and her Eastern and Southern workshops. The extraordinary growth in the demand for these products in this group, will soon extend to those lying beyond us, till the millions of Polynesia and Oceanica will learn to rely on America for subsistence, to be fed and clothed by American industry, as Hawaii now is.

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